

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02552 01 OF 02 311758Z

42

ACTION AF-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 L-01 SP-02

INR-05 INRE-00 CIAE-00 PRS-01 EUR-08 PM-03 DODE-00

ACDA-10 IO-03 EA-06 /063 W
----- 076654

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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2572

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 2552

LIMDIS

DAKAR FOR ASST SECTY SCHAUFEL

EO 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, ZA

SUBJECT: TEXT OF ZAMBIAN DRAFT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND
OBJECTIVES FOR OAU SUMMIT

1. THERE FOLLOWS IN PARA 4 FULL TEXT OF ZAMBIAN PRELIMINARY DRAFT STATEMENT FOR OAU SUMMIT ON ANGOLA ON WHICH GRZ IS INVITING CRITICAL COMMENT FROM USG AND OTHER UNIDENTIFIED FRIENDLY NATIONS. STATEMENT HANDED TO AMBASSADOR DEC 31 BY MARK CHONA OF PRESIDENCY WHO SUGGESTED HE INTENDED USE IT AS BASIS FOR FOLLOW-ON DISCUSSION WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR HERE IN ARGUING FOR POLITICAL RECONCILIATION RATHER THAN MPLA MILITARY VICTORY.

2. WHILE WE HAVE NOT YET THOROUGHLY REVIEWED ZAMBIAN STATEMENT, MY IMMEDIATE OBSERVATION WAS THAT OBJECTIVE (E) IN DRAFT STATEMENT IS NOT CLEAR AS TO WHETHER INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION (TO INCLUDE AFRICANS PLUS) WOULD BE LIMITED TO CEASEFIRE ALONE OR TO SOME SORT OF A POLITICAL REFERENDUM FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. CHONA GRATEFUL FOR THIS OBSERVATION AND SAID HE WOULD WELCOME ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS FOR REDRAFTING SO AS TO
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02552 01 OF 02 311758Z

HAVE BEST POSSIBLE WRITTEN STATEMENT FOR OAU SUMMIT. CHONA

ALSO INVITED USG RESEARCH FOR ANY APPLICABLE MODELS OF EFFECTIVE
CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAVE PROVED SUCCESSFUL IN OTHER
TROUBLED AREAS OF WORLD.

3. RECOMMENDATION: THAT DEPARTMENT CRITICALLY REVIEW THIS
STATEMENT FOR ADEQUACY IN FURTHERING US INTERESTS
AND ACCOMPLISHING OBJECTIVES OF CEASEFIRE, CESSATION OF ALL
ARMS DELIVERIES AND TROOP REINFORCEMENTS, ESTABLISHMENT OF
OAU MECHANISM TO ACHIEVE RECONCILIATION AND AGREEMENT OF
GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, AND REMOVAL OF ALL FOREIGN
INTERVENTION.

4. QUOTE A STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES ON ANGOLA:

(1) ANGOLA IS NOW AN INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGN STATE. PORTUGAL,
THE COLONIAL AUTHORITY, HANDED OVER POWER NOT TO ONE POLITICAL
PARTY BUT TO THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA. THE THREE POLITICAL
PARTIES, FORMERLY LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, BROADLY AND
TOGETHER REPRESENT THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA. MUCH AS ONE MAY
SUPPORT THE MPLA, ONE CANNOT GENUINELY AND TRUTHFULLY ACCEPT
WHOLLY THE MPLA CLAIM THAT THEY REPRESENT ALL THE PEOPLE OF
ANGOLA. IF THIS CLAIM IS ACCEPTED THERE WILL NEVER BE PEACE IN
ANGOLA BECAUSE SUCH A POSITION IGNORES A VITAL POLITICAL REALITY
IN THAT COUNTRY. THE OAU WOULD BE CREATING CONDITIONS FOR
CONTINUED INSTABILITY IN ANGOLA.

(2) SINCE INDEPENDENCE WAS ACTUALLY GRANTED TO ANGOLA BY THE
PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AND WAS NOT GRABBED BY ANY OF THE
THREE POLITICAL PARTIES, THERE SHOULD BE NO DISPUTE ABOUT WHICH
OF THE THREE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT HAS A MORE LEGITIMATE CLAIM
TO BE THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. ALL THE THREE PARTIES DECLARED
ANGOLA INDEPENDENT. AFRICA RECOGNIZES THE SOVEREIGNTY OF
ANGOLA. ALL OAU MEMBERS, WHETHER THEY SUPPORT MPLA, FNLA,
OR UNITA RECOGNIZE THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ANGOLA. THE MAJORITY
BELIEVE IN THE INTEGRITY OF THE WHOLE TERRITORY OF ANGOLA INCLUDING
CABINDA, SOVEREIGNTY IS INDIVISIBLE. CONSEQUENTLY ON EVERY
LEGAL BASIS, THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANGOLA ARE EXCLUSIVELY THE
RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PEOPLE OF ANGOLA. AFTER INDEPENDENCE,
ANGOLANS CAN HAVE ONE POLITICAL PARTY OR THREE OR EVEN TEN OR
MORE. ANGOLANS ARE FREE TO FORM NEW POLITICAL PARTIES TODAY

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 02552 01 OF 02 311758Z

AND THE OAU HAS NOT RIGHT TO STOP THEM. IT IS THEIR SOVEREIGN
RIGHT AND THERE MUST BE NO INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

(3) IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE THE OAU HAS CLEARLY NO RIGHT TO
DECIDE WHICH POLITICAL PARTY SHALL BE THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA.
THE OAU AND OTHER NATIONS IN THE WORLD CAN ONLY ASSIST ANGOLANS
IN FINDING A SOLUTION TO THEIR PROBLEMS AND IN FORMING THE
GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD GIVE THEM UNITY, PEACE, STABILITY AND

PROGRESS. NO ONE SHOULD DICTATE TO THEM.

(4) THE OAU SHOULD HAVE MET BEFORE NOVEMBER 11, 1975 TO
WITHDRAW RECOGNITION ACCORDED TO ANY OF THE THREE ANGOLAN
POLITICAL PARTIES BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. IF THIS HAD BEEN DONE,
THEN, OF COURSE, THE OAU WOULD HAVE BEEN OPERATING PERFECTLY
WITHIN ITS RIGHTS TO ACCORD RECONGITION TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
OR WITHDRAW SUCH RECOGNITION FROM THEM. THIS IS BECAUSE
ANGOLA WAS NOT AN INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATE. THE OAU
DID NOT MEET. AFRICA, THEREFORE, LOST THE RIGHT TO DETERMINE
THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA. THE OAU CANNOT NOW DECIDE TO EXCLUDE
ANY POLITICAL PARTY FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA.
ONLY ANGOLANS CAN DO SO BECAUSE THIS SOVEREIGN RIGHT WAS
PROPERLY VESTED IN THE PEOPLE BY PORTUGAL.

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02552 02 OF 02 311744Z

42

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INR-05 INRE-00 CIAE-00 PRS-01 EUR-08 PM-03 DODE-00

ACDA-10 IO-03 EA-06 /063 W
----- 076545

O 311553Z DEC 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2573

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 2552

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(5) FOREIGN INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA IS A GRAVE THREAT TO INTER-
NATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

(6) ARISING FROM THE ABOVE, THE OAU SUMMIT IN ADDIS ABABA
WILL BE CRUCIAL. IT WILL ENABLE ALL MEMBER STATES TO LOOK AT THE
PRINCIPLES WHICH SHOULD GUIDE THE OAU IN ITS DECISIONS ON

ANGOLA. WHAT THE OAU DECIDES ON ANGOLA WILL BE AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT IN THE HISTORY OF AFRICA.

MAIN OBJECTIVES OF THE EXTRAORDINARY SUMMIT

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE FORTHCOMING EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE OAU SUMMIT SHOULD, THEREFORE, INTER ALIA BE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) THE SUMMIT SHOULD CONDEMN FOREIGN INTERVENTION AND THIS SHOULD INCLUDE SOUTH AFRICA, AND ALL FOREIGN POWERS WHO HAVE MILITARY PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT IN ANGOLA BEING USED TO MURDER AND MAIM THE INNOCENT ANGOLAN PEOPLE AND DESTROY THEIR PROPERTY. TO CONDEMN SOUTH AFRICA ALONE AND NOT THE OTHER COUNTRIES INVOLVED AND WHO ALSO HAVE NO RIGHT TO BE THERE, IS SECRET

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02552 02 OF 02 311744Z

TO CONDEMN THE EFFECTS AND NOT THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE. FOREIGN INTERVENTION FROM WHATEVER QUARTER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PRESENT DISASTER IN ANGOLA.

(B) THE OAU SHOULD DEMAND THE TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN MILITARY PERSONNEL AND EQUIPMENT AND SHOULD WORK OUT SANCTIONS AGAINST THOSE WHO DO NOT WITHDRAW FROM THE ANGOLAN SOIL.

(C) THE SUMMIT SHOULD CALL FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE IN ANGOLA.

(D) THE OAU SHOULD CALL UPON THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES IN ANGOLA TO AGREE TO THE FORMATION OF A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY AND NOT ALLOW FOREIGN POWERS TO DICTATE TO THE THREE POLITICAL PARTIES.

(E) THE SUMMIT SHOULD THEN CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE WHILE SORTING OUT THE FORM WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY SHOULD TAKE.

(F) THE OAU SHOULD DISPATCH A HIGH POWERED DELEGATION OR DELEGATIONS TO MOSCOW, WASHINGTON D.C., PEKING AND THE EEC TO INFORM THE GOVERNMENTS IN THESE CAPITALS ABOUT THE OAU DECISIONS. END QUOTE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING AGENDA, TEXT, SUMMIT MEETINGS, REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 DEC 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LUSAKA02552
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750451-0639
From: LUSAKA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975121/aaaaaatb.tel
Line Count: 213
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <30 OCT 2003 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TEXT OF ZAMBIAN DRAFT STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES FOR OAU SUMMIT
TAGS: PFOR, ZA, AO, OAU, (CHONA, MARK)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006